/48 cont./
252 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
262 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups and special dishes made of beans.

264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast upon rising; later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his enramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by picking wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her responsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

• • •

● 855
513 The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleeping as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
[352] onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchorro or hamaca/ /49/.
[848] that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases, but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replaceable. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

/49 cont./

855 513 Sometimes they may share their hammock with a brother, not a common occurrence, or sleep on occasion in that of an adult.

The hours of sleep are regularly those from eight at night to three in the morning, when the child takes up his pastoral duties. During the hours of midday heat, he may return (when pasturing near by) to sleep under the bough-covered shelter /enramada/ at home, or drowse in the woods under the trees. If he is not a herder, he may get up later in the morning and will also take a siesta during the hot part of the day. He sleeps in his usual clothes, the guayuco /loincloth/, only loosening somewhat the belt at his waist which holds it, to lessen the tension.

In the regions of the mountains, where it is cold in the early morning, hammocks are placed near the hearth where a fire has been left burning or which is lit during the night to temper the low temperature, and no one sleeps outside the house but inside. At times a sheepskin or that of some other animal or a robe /manta, "robe, usually worn by women"/ is thrown on the hammock, or for want of these, they get up and huddle round the fire to warm up and then go back to their hammocks and try to sleep until the intense cold obliges them to repeat the process.

• • •

291 855 The boy goes about naked up to a certain age, variable according to the group. For instance in regions which are in contact with the whites, when around six or seven years old, they wear a guayuco very similar to that of an adult, held up by a homemade belt. They use no other addition, unless occasionally they get some other item of clothing, generally from a white source, which they keep on until it is worn out. When they are old enough to put on the guayuco /loincloth/ and even before if they to pasture the cattle, they start to use guaireñas

/49 cont./

29/ (Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the
855 hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more
advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kióra /headband/,
[842] but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the
adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then, generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun. Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty,
[415] Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woolen pouches which are attached to the belt and which serve /50/ as a purse and a depository for charms /contras/ (in the case of adults), small objects for personal use, etc.

30/ Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of
778 their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear
855 when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

29/ With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter
855 than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives, who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants. It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed between the legs, held at the ends to the waist by what is called a tirapo, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked until much later. During the prepubertal period, when the development of the mammary glands begins to be marked, she puts on a sort of blouse made with the technique for hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads), which is intended, as the girl is already beginning to be initiated into the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping position much of the time, to keep her from becoming hump-backed; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

/50 cont./
it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments, magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred," to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Nevertheless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently then take her into account and endeavor to train her in feminine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has already been made use of very early in the family life, since, as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that they show more concern than if they treated her as a child. Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: menstruation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kinswoman with the most authority.

[100 cont.]

also effective on birds, which die in a short time when they have the evil eye put on them. To protect the children they are made to wear rings or bracelets made of jet beads, buzzard [chulo] bones, guache [a certain serpent] teeth, or male and female coral stones. They also avert the evil eye by singing three hymns over the sufferer.

"We also find this superstition in Spain. The physician Rodrigues López, referring to Galician superstitions, writes: 'Here, where the belief in the evil eye is so strongly held, it is exceptional for a mother not to hang round her child's neck certain relics, herbs, horns, or other objects of all shapes and sizes, or at other times to sew them on to their children's clothes, or tie them to their wrists to protect them from the contagious effects of the evil eye.'" (60)

60. Arias, Juan de Dios. Supersticiones Populares [Popular Superstitions], pp. 265-266.

Besides this, in the study made by the Licentiate Panesso Robledo on Antiochian folklore we find the following:

"Not only country people but also city dwellers wear opals, nearly all imitation, to protect themselves from evil actions, and on their children's wrists they tie black beads, called jet but rarely genuine, to keep them safe from the evil eye, a universal superstition whose effects if they really occur are to be imputed to the phenomena of auto-suggestion or hypnotism." (61)

61. Panesso R., Antonio. Del Folklore Antioqueño [Antioquian Folklore], p. 25.

Leaving Colombian folklore and limiting ourselves to that of La Guajira, we find there that jet is the best charm to protect one from the evil eye, [101] which especially affects children. This evil effect is not obtained if the person on whom it is practiced carries jet on his person, since it has the property of counteracting the evil. According to the belief, when the evil eye has been cast upon a person carrying a piece of jet, this

751 [101 cont.]
823 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic
855 action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly re-
754 ceives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces, [111] bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this
754 evil, "oxeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some
824 part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habita-
825 tions the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that [484] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

milked the cows and then watched the herds, keeping a particular eye on the calves, kids and lambs, which a beast of prey might take. He also had to look out for two-legged thieves. He soon learned where pasture was best and most suitable. He could see to the cattle, knew what to do when they fell ill and how to break in horses. The older ones were expert at tracking animals that had strayed—they could do this at the age of ten. He would have made himself a bow and arrows almost as soon as he could walk and have practised with them. With these he shot edible lizards and small birds. He set snares for doves. He watched at the men's deer traps by night and he took part in the slaughter. During the rains he helped to weed his maternal uncle's plots and prepare them for sowing. If he belonged to a fisher family on the coast he had to take part in his father's trips out to sea and dive for pearls. When not otherwise occupied he made carrying-nets.

'Do you see those,' said the old man, pointing to some bottles and bowls of calabash rind lying on a roof drying in the sun. 'It is the young ones who make those. They scrape out the inside and then carve figures in the rind while it is fresh and soft. You want to buy them, you say? That's nothing to sell. The children will gladly give you them.'

The children brought us their calabashes. They had to explain what the figures signified and naturally I gave them things in exchange.

It goes without saying that both boys and girls often have to run errands and sometimes act as nursemaid. Little girls have to learn to fetch water and look after the fire. Then they are shown how to make maize gruel and they have to practise baking maize cakes. They soon get to know all the wild and cultivated plants used in the Indian household. Then they take part in the harvest, which is the women's affair.

In those families which own many head of cattle, the sons, once they return from staying with their uncles, are often left much to themselves, for their fathers have no time for them. Their fathers neglect their upbringing and never administer physical punishment, since they risk being called

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

upon to pay damages by their wives' clans if they do. They will give their sons cattle—sons do not inherit from their fathers—and these they have to look after themselves from the age of fifteen or sixteen. In the better families youths of this age are often rather wild, trying to imitate the older men, drinking more than they can take, being noisy and butting in when their elders are talking. The grown-ups take this quite calmly, pretending they are not there. 'They grow out of it,' they say.

The young men usually settle down when they marry. They must then stand on their own feet and assume family responsibilities.

We now had a much better idea of life in Guajira. As we slowly waded through the sand back to the mission station, Gladrvet said:

'One ought to ride on camels here.'

Perhaps the Indians ought to have had camels. That would have made another reason to call the peninsula the Arabia of South America.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[747] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

679 Some tribes, such as the Cosina of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

943 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of [sic] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman remains and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

[95] Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the Guajiro have adopted, and
[55] most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may
177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, maiki or maiki for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Maikijaun after a son or Sushijaun after a daughter.

[57] At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller
[61] animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

● [58] Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes
[60] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio
[56, 79] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their Guajiro dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

[81] **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hidden near the roof. For the first 3 days she drinks no